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The War Paper for Women

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

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"SOME" MILITANCY!



It has taken all this to make our Prime Minister aware that women are brave. How much more will it take to convince him that they ought to have a vote?

(In the House of Commons, on November 4, Mr. Asquith, praising the courage of women in war time, said: "There are thousands of such women, but a year ago we did not know it.")

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it; to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper

THE OUTLOOK

Lord Lansdowne's announcement in the Upper House, on Thursday in last week, of the Government's intentions with regard to the revision of the Parliamentary register next year demands the attention of every serious Suffragist. The London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, commenting on it, says:

The register on which the election is to be held after the war will be a special register. It is pretty certain that it will be on the basis of something like manhood suffrage. The residential qualification has been broken in the case of a million or so of voters, and it is not likely to be restored. Sentiment is very strongly in favour of giving a vote to every man who has fought for his country, and manhood suffrage is the simplest and probably the only way of doing it.

Sentiment, unfortunately, is never in favour of extending justice to woman, but is, on the contrary, the worst enemy of her liberties. We must therefore look to a strong and united determination on the part of Suffrage Societies that manhood suffrage, or its equivalent, shall only be granted in connection with womanhood suffrage, or its equivalent. The United Suffragists and the Women's Freedom League have already written to Lord Lansdowne to this effect, pointing out further that, in the matter of war service, women's claim to enfranchisement is as indisputable as men's. On page 54 will be found details of these letters and of the withdrawal of Lord Willoughby de Broke's Service Franchise Bill, on which we commented last week, and which was the occasion of Lord Lansdowne's significant utterance.

The American Elections

The Woman Suffrage amendment has been defeated in all three States in which it was submitted to the Referendum on November 2; that is, in New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. A magnificent campaign was conducted by the women up to the day of the polls; and ten days before, by far the biggest procession marched through the streets of New York that has ever been known in that city, except the Sound-Money parade of 1896. It is computed that 60,000 women took part in the procession, and a leading article in the *New York Tribune*, remarking on this evidence of a sacrifice that the men of the State have never had to make for their privilege of governing, goes on to say:

Any person who, having seen the impressive band of women who thronged Fifth Avenue yesterday—impressive alike in numbers, in bearing, in determination—can believe that the equal suffrage fight will ever be dropped until it is won is blind, blind to the history of the extension of participation in government, blind to the workings of human nature.

In order to understand how the women were in the end beaten at the polls we must remember that the three States in question were Eastern States.

Reasons for Failure on November 2

In America, it seems, the wise men do not dwell in the East. The West is almost solid for Woman Suffrage; while Illinois, a half-way State, has given partial Suffrage (including the Presidential vote) to its women, and the attempt of the representatives of drink interests to invalidate their enfranchisement has just been defeated for the second time. But the East is so far unregenerate—the *Manchester Guardian* attributes this principally to the far larger immigration from "undemocratic European

countries" that goes on in the Eastern States—that the pluck and perseverance of the women who have thus attempted to storm the strongholds of its prejudice is what should command our attention, rather than their want of success in doing it. A year or two ago, the idea of putting the question to the vote at all in New York State would have seemed a dream belonging to a "dim and distant future." So far from despairing (of which, by the way, they show not the faintest sign at present!), our American sisters have every encouragement to go on and try again—or to concentrate their energies, as many are doing, on getting the Federal amendment through Congress.

The New Jersey Defeat

The Boston *Woman's Journal*, which is edited by our good friend and correspondent, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, attributes the New Jersey defeat partly to the defection of the State Federation of Labour (who were influenced by the trade union delegates from the liquor trades) and of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, and partly to what it calls "submarine methods," such as the Anti-suffrage placards which were posted up in all the factories and purported quite falsely to be sent from the Colorado Federation of Labour. Mr Sheehy Skeffington, who is now in America, sends to the *Irish Citizen* an account of the corrupt methods employed by the "Anti's" in New Jersey, which more than bears out what the Suffragists say. "The fount of all the opposition," he states, "was the drink traffic," and he goes on to tell amazing stories of how the women "watchers" were induced "by fraud or force" to leave the polling booth for a few minutes, during which the ballot-boxes were stuffed with hundreds of false voting papers (these not being numbered in the States as they are here). We agree with Mr. Skeffington that "where this is what men make of politics, it is high time for women to come in and clean it up."

Women and Drink

A correspondent, who has slightly misunderstood our attitude towards this question, regrets that we seem to condone excessive drinking on the part of women. We hasten to make our position clear. So far from condoning drunkenness, we think the problem forms one of the most potent arguments for Woman Suffrage; for no sane person doubts that if women had the vote temperance legislation would be effected, instead of talked about session after session. But we protest most emphatically against enquiries being instituted into drinking among women only, when all official figures so far available go to show that women are immeasurably the more temperate sex. We do not say that drinking among women has not increased since the war broke out. Probably it has, since suicide, its companion panacea for unendurable anxiety and mental agony, has been noticeably frequent among soldiers' wives. But we do say that while official proofs are to hand of excessive drinking among women, and while such enquiries as have been made tend to prove the contrary, Bishops and others have no right to bring wholesale charges of drunkenness against soldiers' wives. And finally, we protest once more against the hypocrisy of a Government that appoints a Committee to inquire into drinking among women only when it fails even to apply the "No Treating" order to the House of Commons.

Economy—for Women and Children Only

Food is still rising in price—bread has gone up another halfpenny this week—and housewives are being exhorted on all sides to save the country from the financial consequences of a war that is costing us £6,000,000 a day, by cheese-paring in the home. Women are further being attacked for buying useless, or at all events, expensive articles of dress and finery—for endeavouring, in fact, to live up to the Anti-Suffrage ideal of woman as preached before the war. Every effort is also being made by the L.C.C. to cut down expenditure in the schools by economising over cleaning, heating, meals, and the teaching staff. With the exception of this last municipal exhibition of how

not to save in war time, we fully agree with the above strictures on unnecessary expenditure. We think that neither in war nor peace should people eat too much or dress extravagantly, so long as the greater proportion of the population goes ragged and starving. But in view of the waste that attaches to the daily feeding of our army, and in view of "Banqueting as Usual," as seen in the Guildhall last Tuesday—to take only two instances of male extravagance—we think it nothing short of impertinent to blame women specially for spending unnecessarily. Economy should begin in the State as well as the Home.

Women Doctors and the War

As we went to press tidings came of the safety of the Serbian units equipped by the Scottish Women's Hospitals, and our readers will join with us in hoping that these brave Suffragist doctors, nurses, and orderlies will come safely through the perils that now surround them in the Near East. The work done during the present war by medical women should cause our sympathies to be enlisted further on behalf of the two hospitals that have done so much to train them in the face of great prejudice—the New Hospital for Women (founded by Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D.) and the Royal Free Hospital (School of Medicine for Women), until lately the only London general hospital that opened its doors to women medical students. Both these institutions are now issuing appeals for help, and the work of both will have been seriously crippled by the war unless those who care for the future of women in the medical profession come now to their help. The New Hospital for Women has a special claim upon women, having been the first hospital to be staffed entirely by women. Its appeal is for maintenance, for funds to enable it to retain the extra beds provided since war broke out for women patients who were crowded out of other hospitals by wounded soldiers.

Items of Interest

Miss F. Hermia Durham has been appointed Chief Woman Inspector in the Labour Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance Department of the Board of Trade. Miss Durham has served as a member (unpaid) of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education.

Women tram conductors employed by the London County Council will be paid the same wages as men, 5s. a day, with a weekly war bonus of 3s. Women porters are to be employed at the L.C.C. Stores Department at wages ranging from 15s. to 21s. a week.

In Glasgow, where the Corporation has been so enterprising in employing women as conductors, the experiment is now to be made of employing them as tramcar drivers.

At Christmas some 800 women are to be taken on by the Post Office as sorters and "facers," and another 300 as letter-carriers. The appointments will be made through the Labour Exchanges.

Women window cleaners, in smocks and khaki trousers, have made their appearance at Newcastle.

An inspector of forty years' standing in the N.S.P.C.C. states, in the report of an enquiry he has made as to drinking among soldiers' wives, that the women who are drinking are those who drank too much before the war, and that the main body of soldiers' wives are courageous, industrious, and sober.

Two questions asked in Parliament, last week, revealed the fact that in a munitions factory doing Government work in Perranforth, some 150 girls are being paid 12s. a week, while at Woolwich Arsenal boys between the ages of fourteen and sixteen earn an average weekly wage of 15s. to 16s.

We are glad to see that the Committee appointed to enquire into the alleged excessive drinking among women at least includes some Suffragists, such as Mrs. Bramwell Booth and Lady Frances Balfour, though we do not see mentioned among the organisations invited to submit evidence the Women's Freedom League, which, through its policewomen, has collected much information on the subject.

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1915.

THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING "FOOLISH"

There was one passage in Mr. Asquith's important speech last week which has attracted less attention than it deserved. It was this:—

Let us ask ourselves what year in our history has done more to justify our faith in the manhood and the womanhood of our people? It has brought us, as we cannot at this moment forget, the imperishable story of the last hours of Edith Cavell.

She has taught the bravest man amongst us a supreme lesson of courage. Yes, sir, and in this United Kingdom and throughout the Dominions of the Crown there are thousands of such women, and a year ago we did not know it.

It is possible, it is evident, that Mr. Asquith did not know it. But we knew it, and indeed we do not feel inclined to take special credit to ourselves for having realised a fact so simple, universal, and obvious. It is not merely that in this Suffrage movement the sublime faith, heroism and unselfishness of women have been daily and hourly apparent. The thoughts of our readers will turn naturally to the women who faced death, and tortures and humiliations far worse than death, in the struggle to win their elementary rights of service and self-expression: the thoughts of Mr. Asquith himself, now that he has learnt that courage is courage even when it is shown by a woman, may be expected to turn in the same direction. But women's courage is not confined to those actively engaged in the cause of their sisters' emancipation: it is the foundation-stone of every home in the world. Surely it is a strange thing for a Prime Minister to admit, after ruling for years in a country where many millions of women rise up in poverty and lie down in sorrow, denying themselves, overworking themselves, caring for husband and children, keeping on through the extremes of ill-health and depression, often trebling the parts of mother, household drudge, and factory-worker or home-worker—that he did not know there were thousands of brave women in the Empire! It is as if he were to say that he did not know there was a sun in heaven. But even on him, by his own confession, the sunlight has broken in. Let it illumine for him the road of justice and reparation.

Still more cogently has Mr. Bernard Shaw pointed the moral of Miss Cavell's heroism: we quote from a letter he contributed to last week's *New Statesman*:—

There is a way in which we can pay our debt to her. . . . We cannot vapour about chivalry, because if she had come back alive to demand the political rights granted to the meanest of men, and had broken a shop-window to compel attention to her claim, she would have been mobbed, insulted, and subjected to gross physical violence, with the full approval of many of the writers who are now canonising her. What we can do is very simple. We can enfranchise her sex in recognition of her proof of its valour. . . . If this proposal is received in dead silence, I shall know that Edith Cavell's sacrifice has been rejected by her country.

Women's valour, of course, has never been

in doubt. Nor, even if it had, would that have been an answer to the Suffrage claim. Through all the years in which women with increasing ardour have demanded the vote has any attempt been made to exclude unvalorous men from the franchise? The meanest of men, as Mr. Shaw points out, are able to vote: why not women?

It is true that during the war a new test has been in some quarters proposed. It has been suggested that people who do not serve the State by war-work—in particular, men who do not enlist—should be disfranchised. We do not feel called upon to discuss this as a general proposal. But even if, purely for the sake of argument, we were to accept the general proposal, the Woman Suffrage case would not be affected. For those who say that a man who *can* fight and *will not* (even if deterred by conscientious objections) should have no vote do not go on to say that a man who *cannot* fight, because he is physically unfit or because the State will not accept that particular service from him, should be similarly made voteless. Yet it is in the latter position that women find themselves. If Mr. Asquith presented himself for enlistment, he would be refused on grounds of age just as a woman would be on grounds of sex: but we have not heard any proposal to disfranchise Mr. Asquith because he is not fighting for his country. While, as for the positive war-work that women have done and are doing, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George themselves have paid eloquent tributes to it: the popular platform and the public press are justly loud in recognition of it.

When we turn from proposals for taking votes away to proposals for giving votes, we find the nation united (it would be an intolerable shame if it were not) in the resolution that the men who are away fighting shall not be "done out of" their civic rights. Lord Willoughby de Broke's Bill to secure that not merely men on the voting registers who are now abroad, but everybody who has taken up arms, should be assured of his vote whenever the next General Election comes—that Bill, which in effect, when added to the present state of the registers, amounted to something almost like a move for Manhood Suffrage, was sympathetically received in the Lords, and withdrawn only because the Government gave a promise that there would be no General Election until the war was over, and that the matter would be legislatively dealt with before that time came. While the Bill was before the country, the United Suffragists and other Suffrage societies appealed to Lord Willoughby de Broke, on the basis of his Suffrage views and of common justice, to include in its scope the women whose national service is so signally beyond dispute. We notice, with some amusement, that Lord Meath went out of his way in the debate, first to call attention to the "hundreds of women" who "had placed their lives in jeopardy" in the service of the State, and then—instead of suggesting their enfranchisement—to express the hope, in the interests of national unity, that no woman "would be so foolish as to raise this question." We cannot agree with the implied dogma of the noble lord that "national unity" demands acquiescence in flagrant injustice and national weakness. It is never foolish of women, any more than of men, to strive for justice and freedom: it is always—and now more than ever—shameful of men or women to deny justice and freedom. And we trust that Mr. Asquith, remembering his own words of last week, will bear these principles in mind when the Government comes to tackle "the question in all its bearings." Let us see to it that it is the question in *all* its bearings which is tackled.

WHY HE ENLISTED

By T. O'Meara

Jim had to run for his tram. He had overslept himself; but that was excusable, for the baby was teething; and it had a habit of sleeping peacefully all the evening—when he was out, and therefore indifferent to its behaviour—and then waking and crying from midnight until four o'clock. Jim couldn't help thinking that this must be due to some mismanagement on the part of his wife. Every sensible woman should know how to keep a baby quiet; but Ethel just sat and nursed it helplessly, and sometimes seemed actually disposed to cry herself. He had been rather sharp with Ethel that morning; for she had overslept herself, too, and then she said she had a headache, and was so dilatory over getting his breakfast that he hardly had anything to eat at all.

How she had changed, too, by Jove! in the first eighteen months of their married life. All her colour gone, and all her dimples; she was quite washed-out looking already; rarely smiled; and her curls had been replaced, for eight hours out of the twenty-four, by curling pins. It was astonishing how those curling pins could irritate a man; and now that the baby was teething, he saw so much of them. And she seemed always languid and irritable herself, and disinclined to go out in the evenings; so very soon he gave up asking her and went by himself, or with some of the other fellows instead.

There was no doubt about it—married life was not what it was cracked up to be. And then there were those tradesmen with their everlasting bills; and there was the servant problem—none the less a problem because the servant was a small "daily"—and there was the roof that leaked, and the landlord that wouldn't repair it. And now he would be late at the office again—another row with the boss!

Two soldiers got into the tram and sat opposite him. They had damp towels in their hands, and had been to the swimming bath. At one time Jim had had his dip every morning; but now that the baby was teething he seldom felt inclined to rise at five-thirty for that purpose.

"My word," said one to the other; "I'm hungry! I've not eaten as I'm eating now, not for years. It's like being a boy again, ain't it?"

"Rather!" said his companion, heartily.

Jim thought how long it was since he had felt like a boy. All those little petty daily cares, how wearisome they had become, and how fed-up he was with the daily monotonous routine, home and the office, the office and home once more.

Suddenly he perceived, with peculiar distinctness, that he could not stand it any longer.

It is strange to think that one can do one's patriotic duty and yet feel ashamed. Jim had never felt quite so mean in his life as when he emerged from the recruiting office; he had never hated anyone as he hated the kindly old lady who stopped to pat him on the shoulder and say: "Brave lad! We want more like you!" He wanted to protest; to explain that he wasn't a brave lad at all, but a rotten slacker and coward. Running away—that's what it was; running away!

He went homewards slowly, trailing his feet and thinking hard. Thinking that the baby would go on crying just the same, although he wasn't there to hear it; that the tradesmen would go on pestering, and the roof would go on leaking, and the landlord would go on not

repairing it. That, perhaps, there was some cause for Ethel's dullness and languor; that the separation allowance wasn't exactly excessive; and that her mother and sisters, who, he had cheerfully decided, would look after her whilst he was away, had plenty to do attending to their own affairs. But there was no help for it now; only, what on earth could he say to her?

What he did say, in a very miserable voice, was: "Oh, Ethel, I've been such an utter pig!" Not at all the language of a hero whose King and Country needed him. And Ethel, sitting

with the baby on her lap, said nothing at all till he had finished. Then she surprised him by remarking simply: "Well, it will do you a jolly lot of good."

He stared at her, wondering what she meant. (Six weeks later, with the help of a businesslike sergeant and five hundred humorously candid comrades, he understood.)

"But it's *you* I'm thinking of, my dear girl!" he exclaimed, remorsefully.

"Oh!" said Ethel, opening her eyes. And after a moment she added: "Why, it's done you good already!"

CORRESPONDENCE

THE SECRET OF OUR STRENGTH

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Writing in *Land and Water* on October 15 last, Mr. L. March Phillipps, in an excellent article entitled "The Secret of our Strength," put the Suffragist point of view so clearly, though perhaps unintentionally, that I may be excused for quoting his words here:—

We are not fighting for the quality of laws when made, but for the right to make them. Belgium and Serbia are not sacrificing themselves because they believe that German and Austrian laws are worse than Belgian and Serbian laws, but because they object to Germans and Austrians making laws for Belgians and Serbians. It is the making of the laws which counts in their eyes, much more than the quality of the laws when they are made. . . . Now let us see what is implied in this. Every Englishman is aware that on no account, not if he were to be governed by an angel from heaven, would he surrender that most sacred of all rights, the right to make his own laws. . . . There is, then, in the popular instinct and imagination something in the making of laws, apart from their intrinsic value, which is of primary concern. . . . Laws in themselves have never counted for much; there have been beneficent despots and wise law-givers in all ages, who have increased the prosperity, and probably the happiness, of their subjects; but yet their government has not stimulated the moral and intellectual capacity latent in citizenship, or fortified its character, or enlarged its understanding. The influence of those circumstances in which we passively acquiesce is not of this kind. It is by our own efforts, by the exercise of our spiritual and intellectual faculties, that such results are achieved. There is more hope for the future in the least and faintest impulse towards self-help, self-realisation, self-redemption, than in all the laws that Aristotle ever dreamed of. . . . Not schools and colleges, not books and lectures and professors, act so immediately and powerfully on the character of a people as does their participation in the opportunities and responsibilities of governing.

Surely this is the best possible answer to those people who point to this or that instance of feminine folly or frivolity, and ask if "such women" are to have a part in the government of their country. We desire the vote, not only for its economic, but for its educative value. And education, as has been so often pointed out, is far more a matter of feeling than of book-learning. There is a vast deal of difference between the conversation of half-a-dozen village yokels during the Waterloo year, and the keen and critical discussion which takes place nowadays wherever two or three men of the artisan class are gathered together; and this difference is not due solely to the influence of the local Council school. The true secret of the somewhat aggressive, but certainly intelligent, patriotism of the American nation lies in President Lincoln's famous words: "The government of the people, for the people, by the people."

Besides, acts of national justice and equity have nothing to do with the mental or moral characteristics of the persons chiefly concerned. If every woman behaved habitually like the heroine of one of Mr. Wells's novels, we should still demand her enfranchisement as the first step towards sanity. If every soldier's wife was the drunken and profligate criminal of subur-

ban tea-party imagination, we should still demand a vote for the soldier's wife, knowing that therein lay the greatest chance of her ultimate reformation. Prostitution may be a necessary institution of our civilisation, or it may be about as necessary as the consumption of absinthe in France, vodka in Russia, and methylated spirit in Glasgow; but, while it exists, the least we can do is to put the prostitute upon the same political footing as her male employer.

The present war is being waged for the preservation of England as we know it, the good and the bad together; and the healing and restoration of England must be done by the good and the bad together, too—the Lord Chancellor and the chimney sweep, Lady Vere de Vere and her scullery maid, the Colonel's lady and Judy O'Grady, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bill Sikes. The only true national unity is democracy, and only through democracy shall we save our souls alive.—Yours, &c.,

DEMOCRAT.

"JUSTICE FOR WOMEN?—OR SENTIMENTAL CANT?"

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—You are to be congratulated upon a very straightforward and sensible leading article, though perhaps the poor *New Statesman* hardly deserved quite such vigorous handling! One can picture the contributor in question honestly bewildered by it. "Bless me; what do the women want, I wonder? Oh, a vote! Well, why did they never say so before? How was I to know?" And, anyway, the *New Statesman* has made reparation by printing, this week, some rousing words of Mr. Shaw's upon the same subject.

However, Miss Cavell is now beyond the reach of our opinions, sensible and otherwise; and, meanwhile, the general public, to do it justice, shows no disposition to undue sentimentality over women as a rule. For example: Last week, at the Northumberland Assizes, a young woman of nineteen was committed for trial on a charge of manslaughter. The facts, as reported in the papers, are as follow: In April last, in the workhouse, she gave birth to a child—a boy. The father of the child has since died; and the young woman, left homeless, has been wandering about the countryside, dependent on the charity of people almost as poor as herself. According to the evidence of several witnesses, she was always "very kind" to the baby, and "did all she could" for it; but it did not thrive. And a few weeks ago it died in her arms, one night when she was sleeping alone in a deserted house. Not being strong herself, and being very upset and frightened by this tragedy, she ran out and buried the baby's body under some leaves by a railway culvert; then, more frightened than ever, she went and told a policeman what she had done. He, with the same strict impartiality which he would have displayed towards Miss Cavell eighteen months ago, if she had ventured to present a petition to the King, or seek an audience with the Prime Minister, at once arrested her. She has now, as I say, been committed for trial, and there is no doubt but what she is guilty of the charge against her, since she was the child's legal parent, and did most certainly omit to provide for it that costly scientific care which is just now so doubly necessary for the preservation of valuable infant life. Nor is it possible to doubt that the case is being conducted at least as fairly as Miss Cavell's was; hence, no doubt, the total absence of moral indignation aroused by such very commonplace proceedings.—Yours, &c.,

A MEMBER OF THE U.S.

VOTES FOR WAR SERVICE!

Lord Willoughby de Broke's Service Franchise Bill—Protests from Suffrage Societies—Bill Withdrawn in View of Government's Statement

As soon as Lord Willoughby de Broke introduced his Service Franchise Bill into the House of Lords (on which we commented in our Outlook last week), the Hon. Secretary of the United Suffragists wrote to him as follows:—

On behalf of my Committee, I am writing to you with reference to the Service Franchise Bill introduced by you into the House of Lords last week. This Bill, which creates a new franchise qualification, that of war service, in addition to those already existing, will considerably widen the basis of representation for men, and will amount almost to a measure of manhood Suffrage. But we note that there is no mention in it of women, whose war service is also beyond question, and whose claim to the Parliamentary Vote, already established in the eyes of all but a prejudiced few, has become overwhelming before the prospect of the reconstructive work that awaits the first Parliament elected after the war—in view of which your Bill appears to have been drafted.

My Committee represents a body of men and women drawn from all classes, a considerable proportion of whom are serving at the front as doctors, nurses, or combatants, or at home in other branches of war service; and we feel that this is hardly the moment to pass a Franchise Bill for men, least of all a Bill to give votes especially to those engaged in war service, that does not recognise the equal services of women to the State in this hour of peril. I am therefore authorised to ask you, who are already known to us as a sound Suffragist, so to amend your Bill as to make it applicable to women on equal terms with men. Such an act of simple justice at this time of universal sorrow and stress would do much to lessen the burden women have to bear, and would tend, we think, to strengthen national confidence in our rulers.—Yours faithfully,

BARRARA AYRTON GOULD, Hon. Secretary.

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union

Mrs. Mansell-Moullin, Hon. Secretary of the Forward Cymric Suffrage Union, wrote similarly to Lord Willoughby de Broke on behalf of her society. In the course of her letter she said:—

There are at least as many women in this Union engaged on war service, and doing their best for their country, as there are men; and there are multitudes doing the same. Why should they be left out? On what principle can this privilege be conferred on one sex and not upon the other?

We Welsh people, who love justice, and honour you as a Suffragist, appeal to you to amend your Bill so as to include women on the same terms as men.

The Free Church League, Church League for Women's Suffrage, and Manchester Men's League were among the Suffrage Societies that also wrote to Lord Willoughby de Broke in this vein.

THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE BILL

The Bill, as our readers will have read in the Times and other papers of November 5, was withdrawn on November 4 in consequence of a statement made on behalf of the Government by Lord Lansdowne, in the course of which he made the following important announcement:

In our view what is necessary is to consider this question of extending the life of the present Parliament and to provide the means of compiling a new ad hoc register next year, so that it can be ready when it is wanted. These questions are engaging our attention at the moment, and we hope very shortly to be able to tell Parliament how we propose to deal with them. But I venture to suggest to my noble friend and to the House that they are matters for which His Majesty's Government must be assumed to be held responsible, and that, as we do not in the least intend to shirk that responsibility, we are justified in asking the House to allow the matter to remain in our hands.

The Bill was then withdrawn.

SUFFRAGIST ACTION

The Suffragists have taken action immediately on seeing the statement of the Government. Mrs. Ayrton Gould wrote at once to Lord Lansdowne, to remind him on behalf of the United Suffragists "of the indisputable

claims of women to be included in any new register of voters that may be compiled next year." After showing how the penalties of citizenship have been increased by the war, thus making out a stronger case than ever for their being accompanied by the rights of citizenship, the letter continued thus:—

But what we wish to point out is that if the Government have under consideration a scheme for revising the register in such a way as to preclude the possibility of any injustice falling upon men who have rendered war service to their country, then no shred of reason remains for allowing the injustice of complete disfranchisement to continue in the case of women, whose war service has been acclaimed by the Prime Minister himself.

The letter concluded by asking his lordship for some assurance that the Government would consider the claims of women in compiling the new register, and thus allay

a growing suspicion among thousands of good citizens and patriots that women are being made use of during the present crisis only to be thrown aside

again at the end of the war, when the revision of the franchise is under consideration.

The Women's Freedom League

The Women's Freedom League also wrote, on the withdrawal of the Bill, to Lord Lansdowne. In the course of her letter, Miss Nina Boyle said:—

No alteration of the franchise conditions which does not specifically include a removal of the wrongful disability under which women suffer in being excluded from the voters' roll will be allowed to pass without a renewal of strenuous protest by active Suffrage societies. If emergency measures of such immense scope may be passed at the present time by agreement between the political parties represented in the Government, the time would appear ripe for some of this legislation to be enacted in the interests of the women citizens, on whose steadfastness, endurance, and adaptability the nation will have to rely for the success of our armies in the field and the avoidance of national bankruptcy. We ask this as our clear right. The Government has included women in the National Insurance and the National Registration Acts, and there should be no further delay in including them in the national representation.

THE GREAT WOMEN'S MARCH IN NEW YORK

(From a New York Correspondent)

All Suffragists took part in the great parade of Women which was held in New York on October 23, although yellow was the predominating colour, being the colour of the Woman's Suffrage party. Then came the familiar purple, white, and green of the Women's Political Union, in whose ranks I marched, carrying my own English tri-colour, that had done duty on many occasions. I must confess I did not walk the whole way; but I started with my section, and walked a considerable distance, and then took a car to a point where I could get a good view, as I wanted to send a short account to my friends in England.

I stood on my corner for two solid hours, and then, as my own section passed, I fell into line again and marched to the end. I was told when I took up my stand that the procession had already been marching past for an hour, so the immensity will be imagined when I tell you it took three and a half hours to pass a given point, walking eight abreast, and the latter part, probably the last mile of marchers, walked sixteen abreast.

A Triumph of Organization

It was from beginning to end a triumph of organization, and I, who have organised for many years, and am somewhat critical, must pay the highest tribute to those who organised and to every woman who marched, and faithfully carried out the instructions given her by the marshal, and also written on the postcard of instructions, sent to everyone. To quote only one instruction from the card will give some idea of the organisation:—

"Bearing: Head erect, shoulders back, eyes to front. No talking or laughing. Obey your marshal. Remember you are marching for a principle."

And march they did, everyone of them; not one crooked line did I see, or any marching out of step; every left foot was planted firmly down together, and so the great army swung easily and gracefully along, to the admiration of everyone! Of course, banners, flags, and bands were in profusion all along the line, and the mottoes carried were particularly telling, being the sayings of notable men, from Abraham Lincoln down to the latest convert, President Woodrow Wilson. These mottoes were painted in large letters on canvas, and were fixed to a light frame, behind which eight girls walked. These were at the front of most sections, and there is not the least doubt that these messages were distinctly read by many thousands. The sidewalks were filled with spectators, and not a sign or murmur of hostility did I see or hear. Everywhere were smiling faces, and praise was heard on all sides.

Postponement—not Defeat

I was in Newark, N.J., the day before the election there, and spoke from the Suffrage van, which had a continuous meeting for twenty-four hours, ending with the opening of the booths at six o'clock next morning; and the whole place seemed ringing with "Votes for Women." Yet the paid agents were out, bringing the men's votes to defeat the women at the polls. The women knew this, but were helpless, and when the result came, Mrs. Van Winkle, leader of the Political Union there, who had smiled all through her endless duties, said: "Oh, it's not de-

feat—only a postponement." And she was up and out the next morning, and spoke again from the van, outlining the change of plans and work for the lengthened campaign. Hers is the spirit that accepts no defeat, and, with all the other workers, is "up and at 'em" (like the U.S.).

The newspapers gave most favourable help to the parade, and the Suffragists have been assisted on all sides by the Press, police, and shopkeepers. Many of the largest stores gave their employees a half-holiday, to enable them to take part. One cannot help comparing the different way in which English Suffragists have been treated.

Next Wednesday, every theatre in New York City is giving a Suffrage night, when the boxes will be dressed in the colours, souvenirs given away, and speeches made between the acts. If we had only had such help in England! S. F.

Hall's Wine NOW

Start a short course to-day:

Because Hall's Wine increases your power to resist the wear and tear of anxiety, overwork, and other strains.

Because Hall's Wine restores lost nerve force, and tones up and strengthens the entire system, instils a new vitality, helps you to face the worries that to-day confront us all.

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Buy a bottle of Hall's Wine to-day. If, after taking half, you feel no benefit, return us the half-empty bottle and we will refund outlay.

Large size bottles 3 & 4 of all Wine Merchants, Licensed Chemists, etc. Stephen Smith & Co., Ltd., Bow, London.



VOTES FOR WOMEN

Street Sales have been most encouraging lately. Our paper-sellers have many tales to tell of buyers who express pleasure at seeing the flag kept flying; and one of these, a gentleman who was passing in Oxford Street and caught sight of the familiar purple white and orange poster, came up to the woman who was holding it and gave her ten shillings for the Cause.

More paper-sellers are continually needed. Will they send in their names at once to Miss Browne, Paper-selling Organizer, VOTES FOR WOMEN offices, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.?

"Votes for Women" Posters—Important!

Several new posters have been paid for, and now need inspection as often as possible. This has been arranged for in most cases, but the following call for inspection—Moorgate Street and Temple Stations. Will anyone who passes through these stations regularly and will kindly undertake the small service of seeing that the poster is properly exhibited, send in his or her name at once to the Publisher, VOTES FOR WOMEN (same address)?

Wanted!

It is very desirable that a VOTES FOR WOMEN poster should be shown at Charing Cross Station, where such large crowds of people now congregate, waiting for their soldier friends to arrive from the Front. This can be done if someone will give or collect 25s., the cost for exhibiting the poster for a whole year. Who will do this?

NEXT U.S. PUBLIC MEETING

Friday, November 19; 3 p.m.

We again draw the attention of our readers to the next public meeting to be held by the United Suffragists, to-morrow week, Friday, November 19, in the Central Hall, Westminster (Committee Room B, entrance in Matthew Parker Street). It is being held at three o'clock to enable the audience to get home before dark, and will be a particularly interesting meeting, dealing with the two aspects of the present situation—the civil and the military. Miss Christine Silver, already well known on the stage, will make her first public speech, on the sufferings of children both in war and peace and the consequent need of the woman's vote; and she will end her speech by reciting some verses from Mrs. Browning's "Cry of the Children."

Captain Kilroy Kenyon will talk on her work in the Women's Reserve Ambulance, which rendered such good service in a recent London Zeppelin raid, as readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN had the opportunity of reading a few weeks ago. And Miss Evelyn Sharp will take the Chair at this meeting and speak briefly on the Women's Club.

Will all U.S. members and readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN make a note of the date and bring their friends to this interesting meeting? Admission will be free.

WOMEN VOTERS IN NORWAY

On October 11 the new Franchise Act of June, 1913, came into force in Norway, by which Woman Suffrage was extended to all adult women irrespective of the amount of their incomes; and 170,000 new women electors voted on that day in consequence. The Act of 1907, which removed the sex disqualification in Norway, added about 300,000 to the electorate, these being women who possessed a certain income or were married to husbands paying taxes on that amount. The removal of this property qualification after six years' trial of the woman's vote is an effective answer to those alarmists who say on the one hand that national calamity will follow upon the enfranchisement of women, and, on the other hand, that a limited franchise would rule out the possibility of adult suffrage in the future.

VOTES FOR WOMEN IN HOLLAND

As foreshadowed in Dr. Martina Kramer's special article in VOTES FOR WOMEN, a few weeks ago, the Dutch Government have just brought in a Bill for the revision of the Constitutional Law of the Netherlands. The Bill proposes to extend the franchise to all men and women who have reached the age of twenty-three and are not excluded by certain disabilities. This measure will, however, not actually enfranchise all these women; it is intended only to introduce the principle of Woman Suffrage, while a further revision of the Electoral Law, or a separate Bill introduced later on, will define the exact nature of the franchise to be extended to women.

We have had too much experience of Governments and Franchise Bills to build unduly high hopes on what has taken place in Holland. At the same time it marks a step forward in the women's movement towards enfranchisement, and our hearty wishes for their ultimate success are with our Dutch fellow-suffragists at this time.

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

"Protecting Little Children"

The Derby Daily Telegraph (November 6) reports case of a man of 76, of no occupation, charged before Mr. Justice Shearman at the Derbyshire Assizes with offences against children. He admitted offences against three children on the same day. The Judge said it was important that little children should be protected, but took prisoner's age into consideration.

Sentence: Six months' hard labour.

Assault on a Wife

The Woolwich Pioneer (October 1) reports case of a man charged before Mr. Symmons at Woolwich Police Court with assaulting his wife by kicking and striking her when she was in bed. He admitted assault, but pleaded provocation.

Sentence: Fined 15s.

Ill-treating a Horse

The Morning Advertiser (September 22) reports case of a laundryman and a coachman charged before Mr. Chester Jones at Lambeth with cruelly ill-treating a horse by whipping it when it was no longer able to walk. It was covered with scars, and was lame.

Sentence: Fined 40s. each.

HEAVY SENTENCES

Loitering

The Morning Advertiser (May 22) reports case of a tailor aged 33, charged before Mr. Chester Jones at Lambeth Police Court with being found loitering for the supposed purpose of committing a felony. There was a long record of convictions for picking pockets.

Sentence: Twelve months' imprisonment.

Stealing War Relics

The Morning Advertiser (November 3) reports case of a man charged at Tower Bridge Police Court with stealing from the Y.M.C.A. hut a German helmet, sword, and lance, and with being in unlawful possession of a military uniform. There were previous convictions.

Sentence: Four months' hard labour.

Theft

The Glasgow Evening Times (October 21) reports case of a charwoman charged at a pleading diet of Glasgow Sheriff Criminal Court, before Sheriff Scott Moncrieff, with stealing a gold ring valued at £4. The sentence was said to be partly based on her previous record.

Sentence: Twelve months' imprisonment.

NOT TOO OLD AT 83!

We need not tell our readers that we do not advocate the imprisonment of old men either of 76 or of 83, though we think some way should be found of keeping them from committing crimes of any kind, and above all those that injure little children. But we ask all who read the first case given in our table of punishments above to compare it with the corresponding one (which we gave some months ago in VOTES FOR WOMEN) in order to see once more how leniency towards old men, as towards other criminals, is only shown in our Courts when the offence is against the person, and never when it is against property.

VOTES AND WAGES

At a recent meeting in the Brotherhood Institute, the South Norwood Branch of the Free Church League for Women's Suffrage passed a resolution which demanded from the Government "an emergency measure giving to women the same rights of citizenship as men, thus establishing

in our own country the great principles of Justice, Liberty, and Honour for which this country is said to be fighting at the present time." The resolution ended by urging the Government to insist "that where a woman does the same work as a man she shall receive the same rate of pay."

U.S. AT GREEN AND GOLD FAIR

We remind our readers that United Suffragists will be represented by a stall at the Green, White and Gold Fair, to be held in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Friday and Saturday, November 26 and 27, from 2.30 to 9 p.m. All who remember last year's Fair, held under the same auspices, will want to go again; and they will not be disappointed, for the stalls will contain comforts for sufferers in the war, home-made produce, and Christmas presents. There will be a women's orchestra, entertainments, exhibitions of nursing, and other attractions. Admission, before 5, 1s.; after 5, 6d.

WOMEN AND THEIR WORK

VOTES FOR WOMEN is one of the exhibits at the "Women and their Work" Exhibition now being held at the Prince's Skating Club, Knightsbridge. It will be found on the Publication Stall, held by Miss F. L. Fuller, the advertising agent who makes a speciality of advertising women's professional and business work, particularly in Suffrage organs.

The aim of the exhibition is to show by practical demonstrations the various careers now open to women. A special guard of honour is furnished by the Women's Volunteer Corps, and a detachment of the Women's Police Volunteers are on duty to assist visitors and give information.

Another Interesting Stall

Among other attractive stalls the one held by the Floral Depot (47, Baker Street) especially calls for notice. One of the most successful of their branches of work is that of decorating halls for meetings in the colours of the organization in question. They are known for the freshness of their flowers, which always look as if they had just been brought in from the garden—as, indeed, they have in many cases, for a great number of their plants are grown in their own garden, only a little way out of London. Prices, too, are very moderate at this stall, which is a consideration in these days, when one buys flowers chiefly for the hospitals, and wants as many as possible for the money!

COMING EVENTS

The Women's Freedom League will hold a public meeting in St. George's Vestry Hall, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, on Wednesday, November 17, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Mr. John Scurr and Mrs. Tanner.

Mrs. H. F. Wood will lecture on "The Soldiers' and Sailors' Families' Association: its Aims and Achievements," at the International Women's Franchise Club, on Wednesday, November 17, at 4.30 p.m. Chair: The Hon. Mrs. E. L. Franklin.

The United Suffragists will hold a public meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Friday, November 19, at 3 p.m. Speakers: Captain Kilroy Kenyon on "The Work of the Women's Reserve Ambulance," and Miss Christine Silver on "The Cry of the Children." Chair: Miss Evelyn Sharp. Admission free.

The United Suffragists will hold a Christmas Sale at the Central Hall,

Westminster, on Friday and Saturday, December 10 and 11, from 3 till 10 p.m. Proceeds to be devoted to the U.S. Women's Club.

A Correction

Mr. Laurence Housman will lecture at the Emerson Club on Thursday in this week in aid of the International Suffrage Shop, not the Club, as stated by us last week.

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became famous last year among our Troops abroad. The scarcity and high prices of fruits have not impaired their liberal inclusion in these Puddings, and all ingredients are of the finest quality.

To ensure parcels arriving in time for Christmas the majority should be on their way by the middle of November. Orders, therefore, should be placed now. But why not call and taste them in our Grocery Dept., First Floor?

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All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday morning. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

A VOID CONSCRIPTION! Mass Meeting for Men and Women, Monday next, 7.30, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street (Ludgate Circus), London, E.C. Speakers: Mr. Arnold Lupton, M.P., Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., Mr. S. Mortimer Holden, and others. Admission free, reserved seats 1s., from National Party, 8, Nevill's Court, E.C., or at door. Look out for the "British Weekly Citizen," the new Trade Unionist and Democratic penny weekly newspaper for men and women.

MEMORIAL HALL, Manchester. Wednesday, November 17, at 7.30 p.m. Recital of works for two pianofortes, by Hope Squire and Frank Merrick. Tickets 5s. (reserved), 2s. 6d., and 1s., from Messrs. Forsyth Bros., 126, Deansgate, and at the door.

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ABSOLUTE Privacy. Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, daintiest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights, from 5s. 6d.; on pension 3s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions.—Manageress, 4788 Gerrard.

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ANTISEPTIC ELECTROLYSIS scientifically and effectually performed. It is the only permanent cure for Superfluous Hair. Highest medical references. Special terms to those engaged in teaching, clerical work, &c. Consultation free.—Miss Marion Lindsay, 12a, London Street, Norfolk Square, W. Telephone: 3307 Paddington.

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ATHEENIC UNDERWEAR is cosy, durable, and guaranteed unshrinkable. Get the maximum value at minimum cost by buying direct from the actual makers. Write for patterns.—Dept. 31, Atheenic Mills, Hawick, Scotland.

BLUTHNER Piano, like new; Pleyel small grand; bargain.—11, Parkhurst Road, Holloway.

COME and See INSTEAD'S charming portrait calendars, for Christmas presents; first-rate photographs, 10s., 21s., 30s., and 3 guineas per doz.—13, West Cromwell Road, S.W.

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HANDKERCHIEFS FROM IRELAND! Slightly imperfect Irish linen hemstitched Ladies' Handkerchiefs. Bundle of six for 1s. 5d.; postage 1d. extra. Bundle of twelve, 2s. 9d.; postage 2d. Write to-day!—HUTTON'S, 167, Larne, Ireland.

LADIES' TAILOR. French Dress-maker from Paquin. Ladies' own materials and remodelling made up at moderate prices. Best styles and perfect fit guaranteed.—Viviano and Co., 7, Beauchamp Place, S.W.

SUPPORT WOMEN PRINTERS. Printing of all descriptions undertaken at the Holland Press, 47A, Earl's Court Road, W. Best work and moderate prices.

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TO GIRLS seeking a useful and attractive calling. Annet College for Physical Training and Hygiene, Erdington, Warwickshire, offers a full teachers' training in physical culture, including Swedish educational and medical gymnastics, dancing in all its branches, indoor and outdoor games, swimming, hygiene, anatomy, physiology, &c. Good posts obtained after training.

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HYACINTHS for Pots and Glasses. 1 dozen, named, 2s. 6d.; mixed, for bedding, 10s. 100. List special lines bulbs.—E. Wittey, 15, Maury Road, Stoke Newington.